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selves with the problem of the transmission of culture as a process, or had published their reports when this study was projected, it was determined to make a field study of the problem rather than a cross-cultural inquiry based upon the literature.

A preliminary field trip with Professor George P. Murdock to the Tenino Indians of Oregon demonstrated the feasibility of the project and provided valuable ethnographic experience. This work, however, indicated the desirability of choosing a tribe which was not "broken down" by contact with the whites. It proved difficult to study how Indians brought up their children when most of them were away at the government school learning the three R's.

On my return from this field trip, I found that Mr. Stephen W. Reed was also anxious to make a study of a primitive society. Together we picked New Guinea as an area which would best suit our requirements. The ethnographic literature concerning the island showed that the tribes were small and homogenous, government weakly developed, castes and classes lacking, and economic specialization slight. It seemed, therefore, that the criterion of simplicity would here be fulfilled. There was also a strange series of rites of passage, which, it appeared, would provide a contrast to our own culture. Finally, since New Guinea is one of the world's last frontiers—much of it, indeed, is still unexplored—we hoped to find a tribe which was little affected by contact with Europeans. Fortunately for us, Professor Richard Thurnwald was in New Haven at the time, and with his advice we were able to narrow our field to the Sepik River district of the Mandated Territory.

Since work with Professor Dollard indicated that the hypotheses developed by Freud were outstanding among the theories of socialization and since it seemed probable that the psychoanalytic method of interviewing might be useful in the field, I began a training analysis during the following winter. I worked under Mr. Earl Zinn for five months before leaving for the field.

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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

• 122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers. The roofing material is split limbom palm spathes. The construction is that used by the Kwoma in making bush houses, permanent dwellings having an enclosed room and sewn shingles. See Chapter VI, pages 129–130.

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however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.